

- 101 KAZAK (т.), robber, disturber of the peace, adventurer; on these and other meanings see W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der türk. Dialecte*, II: 364. The existence of the word in Turkish can be first shown in the ninth (xvth) century. During the civil turmoils under the Timūrids the pretenders, in contrast to the actual rulers, were called *kasak*: those who would not accept the verdict of fortune but led the life of an adventurer at the head of their men; cf., for example, the mention of the *kasak* years (*kasaklı*) of Sultān Husain, afterwards ruler of Khurāsān, in the *Bābur-Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, p. 173^b, *infra*. The name *kasak* is also applied to whole bodies of people, who had separated from their princes and kinsmen; in the *Turikh-i Rashidi* (transl. E. D. Ross, especially p. 82 and 272) the Ōzbek, who had abandoned their Khān Abu 'l-Khair (cf. the article), are called Ōzbek-Kazak or simply Kazak; the latter name has been retained by their descendants as an ethnic to the present day (cf. the art. KIRGIZ). In Russia the word *kasak* first appears about the same time as in Central Asia (in the second half of the xvth century) and is probably borrowed from Turkish although it appears in Russian in a larger number of meanings; thus individuals without kinsmen or possessions were called *kasak* even although they did not lead a wandering or marauding life; the word, therefore, had not yet the exclusively military meaning which it had afterwards. The word Cossack, used in Western Europe, is the result of the Little Russian and Polish pronunciation. No certain etymological explanation of the word *kasak* has yet been given. The last suggestion by N. Marr (*Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1915, June, p. 286), according to which the old Caucasian ethnic *Kasag* mentioned in the Russian annals under 6473=965 is preserved in Kazak, is a hypothesis which can hardly be accepted by the historian.
- (W. BARTHOLD)

KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I have attempted to explain the nature of certain features of Turco-Mongol social structure by an examination of some of the processes which appear to have been active in their development. The study is based on information gathered during field work among the Kazak from July to October 1936.¹ Most of the material, unless otherwise indicated, relates to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the period immediately preceding the Russian conquest of Central Asia.

The Kazak,² frequently referred to in the older ethnographic literature as Kirghiz, were until very recently a nomadic stock breeding people but are now rapidly adopting a sedentary life. They inhabit the steppe country between, roughly, the Caspian Sea and the Altai Mountains and number, according to the census of 1926, 3,959,000. Traditionally they were divided into three "hordes" or ordas: the Great Orda in the east and the Little Orda in the west, with the Middle Orda between them. They speak a Turkic language which is classed by Deny³ with Kirghiz and Bashkir as a "western dialect." The Kazak are definitely Mongoloid in physical appearance with evidence of considerable Caucasoid admixture among the southern and western groups. Basic Kazak culture, which has been summarized by Murdock⁴ is closely related in nearly every aspect with that of the Kirghiz, Turcoman, Kalmyk, and Mongols. Historically the Kazak can be first dated as a distinct people in 1465⁵ although the names of some of their constituent groups may be traced much farther back.⁶ They were gradually conquered by the Russians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and now form a republic of the Soviet Union.

Although the literature on the Kazak is large the details of their social organization have remained obscure. They are usually described as divided into a large number of tribes, sub-tribes, gentes and "branches" whose structure, function and relation to one another are not clear. In this study I have sought to define the nature of Kazak social groupings, the process of their origin and their relation to economic life, marriage and the family, class stratification, and political administration.

¹ Field work was made possible financially by a University Fellowship from the Yale Graduate School and a grant from the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University.

² The present official Russian form of the name, transliterated, is Kazakh. This was adopted in order to avoid confusion with Cassak, which is also Kazak in Russian. In Kazak orthography the name is Qazaq but I have used the more familiar form.

³ Deny, *Les Langues turques*, 202.

⁴ Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, 137-62.

⁵ Muhammad Haider, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

⁶ Kufin, *Kirgis-Kazaki*, 8.

HISTORY OF THE KAZAK

175 A discussion of Kazak social organization may be prefaced by a brief survey of their history, which is of interest as indicating certain tendencies reflected in the social structure.

101 According to Radlov¹ the Persian writer Firdusi mentions the existence of a Kazak khan and Kazak tribe about the year 1000, who were famous for their robberies and depredations.² They next appear in Radlov's account in the thirteenth century as forming part of the heritage of Juchi, the eldest son of Chingis Khan. Radlov does not give his source for this statement and it is not clear from the context whether he refers to a definite people known as Kazak or merely means that groups ancestral to the present Kazak were among those subject to Juchi. Apart from Radlov's unknown source I am not aware of any authoritative information to support the former interpretation while the latter is highly probable. Cahun³ mentions the Kazak as a distinct group in the fourteenth century but his source likewise is not evident.

Both Bartold⁴ and Samoilovich,⁵ however, consider that the name Kazak is of very late origin. Bartold finds it first evident in the fifteenth century when it was applied during the Timurid dynasty to those groups who separated from their established rulers and sought an independent life of their own. This use of the term is in general harmony with the meanings given by Radlov⁶ and Samoilovich.⁷ The numerous and widely variant theories of its ultimate derivation have been reviewed by the latter.⁸

Thus, early in the fifteenth century the name Kazak was used to designate various separatist groups who either established themselves independently or transferred their allegiance from one to another of the numerous khans then reigning in the steppes.

175 These khans were mostly descendants of the house of Chingis. He had allotted to Juchi the tribes occupying the western part of his dominions and known as the Golden Horde. When Juchi, however, died in 1225 before his father, his share of the empire was further divided among his several sons. The eastern section of Juchi's inheritance, which was known as the White Horde and comprised the southern part of the present Kazakhstan, was allotted to his eldest son Orda, while the western or Blue Horde, about the lower Volga, went to his second son Batu. North of the White Horde, between the Ural and Chu Rivers were the territories assigned to Shaiban, the fifth son of Juchi. Khanates were likewise established

¹ Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 193.

² Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 136.

³ Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 479.

⁴ Bartold, *Kazak*.

⁵ Samoilovich, *O Slove "Kazak"*.

⁶ Radlov, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches*, 2: 364.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 13.

⁸ *Idem*, 9-13.

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for two other sons, one on the middle Volga and the other northeast of the Caspian between the Ural and Emba Rivers.⁹ 175

The next two centuries were marked by continual conflict among the descendants of these sons of Juchi and with the heirs of other branches of the house of Chingis to the south and east. Whenever particular khans gained ascendancy over a part of the steppes there ensued new groupings and rearrangements of their tribal followings. Thus in the middle of the fifteenth century, Abulkhair, a descendant in the sixth generation from Shaiban, became khan of a confederacy of tribes calling themselves Usbeg although that name was taken from a descendant of Batu.¹⁰

It was from these Usbeg, according to *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, that there branched off the group which formed the nucleus of the Kazak. The somewhat bald account is as follows:¹¹

On the death of Abulkhair Khan the Ulus [i.e., people, dominions] of the Usbegs fell into confusion and constant strife arose among them. Most of them joined the party of Karai Khan and Jani Beg Khan. They numbered about 200,000 persons and received the name of Usbeg-Kazak. The Kazak sultans began to reign in the year 870 [1465-66 A.D.] and they continued to enjoy absolute power in the greater part of Usbegistan till the year 940 [1533-34 A.D.]. Karai Khan was succeeded by Baranduk Khan who was in turn succeeded by Kasim Khan, the son of Jani Beg Khan. Kasim Khan subdued the whole of the Dasht-i-Kipchak.¹² His army numbered more than a thousand thousand men.

One may view with some scepticism the impressively round numbers mentioned in this chronicle but the date provides a convenient starting point from which to reckon the independent existence of the Kazak. It has been so accepted by Bartold.¹³ A slightly different version is given by Bretschneider.¹⁴ Asfendiarov suggests,¹⁵ probably correctly, that the distinction between the Usbeg and Kazak developed gradually and that it is not permissible to speak of a Kazak "nation" before the sixteenth century.

It is worthy of remark that the name "Kazak" which was applied to the separatist group at the time of its division from the Usbeg was generally given at that period to members of a khan's following who forsook him for other leaders. This suggests that the origin of the Kazak was merely another instance of a general tendency among the steppe nomads. Smaller groups on breaking away from their old leaders perhaps allied themselves to new ones but the Kazak appear to have been sufficiently powerful at the time of their separation to attract to themselves fragments of other tribes. 101

⁹ Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, 2: 141-42; Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, 1327-1354, 356; Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, 182; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, 222-40.

¹⁰ Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, 2: 142; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 238.

¹¹ Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

¹² Dasht-i-Kipchak: an indefinite term applied to the region east and north of the Caspian.

¹³ Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 18; see also Skrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, 182.

¹⁴ Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, 2: 142.

¹⁵ Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 77-81.

DEVELOPMENT OF MONGOL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

121 I have introduced the following material on Mongol social organization for two reasons, first because it is interesting in itself as pointing out sources of direct historical information on the growth of Turco-Mongol culture and secondly because of the light it sheds on comparable patterns among the Kazak. Regarding the latter point, I consider it would be premature, at least for me, to indicate which of these patterns may be directly due to Mongol influence and which may represent a much older and more extensive culture stratum in which the "effect of leveling [has been] produced by long continued cross transmission."¹

114 My obvious debt to Vladimirtsov has been acknowledged in the Introduction, although so far as they are available to me in translation I have myself used the sources. If in a few cases Vladimirtsov may seem to draw inferences from somewhat tenuous evidence, he will usually be found to have forestalled the critic by himself pointing out the shortcomings of the material. In general his analysis is distinguished by caution, completeness of documentation and freedom from theoretical bias.

ECONOMY

101 The peoples who subsequently came to be known collectively as Mongols seem to have
162 been divided in the eleventh and twelfth centuries into two groups by their types of economy: those who lived chiefly in the forests and depended mostly on hunting, and those living on the steppes who were essentially cattle breeders. The woodland groups occupied the country from Lake Baikal to the Upper Irtysh and Yenisei, while the nomadic cattle breeders were somewhat to the south in the steppe and mountain area between the Great Wall and the Altai.

221 It is impossible to draw a sharp line between the two groups. Although the woodland
224 peoples depended chiefly on hunting, mixed with fishing, they were acquainted with the horse and were partly nomadic in their habits. On the other hand hunting played a very important part in the life of the steppe nomads and there were numerous borderline groups half hunters and half nomadic cattle breeders. The forest peoples lived in wooden huts while the dwelling of the nomads was the felt khibitka.² In the thirteenth century the role of the woodland groups seems to have considerably declined. The cattle breeding economy penetrated to the north; many of the hunters took to nomadic life and part of the forest regions were occupied by cattle breeders.³

The economy of the numerous nomadic groups was based on horse raising. Writing at a

¹ Spier, *Sun Dance of the Plains Indians*, 900.

² Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 33-37.

³ *Ibid.*, 47.

CHAPTER I.

101 Traditions concerning the origin of the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. -
The seal /tamga/. The white bone. -Seniority. -Precedence.

The Kazakhs call themselves Kazakhs. They adjoin themselves to the tribe of the Uzbeks. The Kirgiz(1) they consider to be an Uzbek

1. Kirgiz. This is what the Kirgiz call themselves. They do not know the name of Karakirgiz /Black Kirgiz/ or Dikokamien-nyi Kirgiz/Wild Stone Mountain Kirgiz/. In their opinion the word karakirgiz appeared with the coming of the Russians. The word buruty (burut, murut) is used among the Kirgiz.

tribe separate from theirs. Out of hatred for the Kirgiz, the Kazakhs trace their origin from non-believers-Kalmuks, and even simply from
[773] dogs. (2) The Kirgiz call themselves brothers of the Kazakhs and deny

2. In the Kurama uyezd the following story was transcribed, which was intended to explain the constant enmity between the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. There were three brothers, of whom two were Kazakhs and the third a Kirgiz. The first did not want to give the Kirgiz his share. Therefore the latter quarreled with them, grabbed a poker for himself from among the vessels (savanyng pishkesh), so as to take at least something of his share, and fled into the mountains. The Kirgiz descended from him and went on living in the mountains.

that they are descended from Kalmuks or dogs.

The word kazak, according to the dictionary of Budagov, means free, a wanderer, an outlaw, and also a bachelor. According to the explanation of the Kazakh Aviz, [24] of the Perovsk uyezd, the word kazak is composed of two words: kaz (goose) and zag (raven), i. e., steppe birds, or in other words, steppe dweller. This etymology confirms in general that the name kazak indicates the form of life of the people bearing this name. According to the explanation of Sultan

173 Kanaev, bii of the Chimkent uyezd, Kazak means outlaw. He has heard from books that there were two brothers, Mogul and Tatar, and

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Part II. Ideas on the History of the Present-day Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Chapter 3. On the Origin of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and
their Condition until their Submission to Russia
in 1730.

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The lack of authentic documents on the basis of which to write a history of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, the impossibility of taking advantage of their traditions, and our determination not to make suppositions which are pure guesses would leave us with nothing positive to say to our readers on the origin of this people if our honored orientalist, Mr. Senkovsky, had not been kind enough to give us help. Having profited from his works and his knowledge of the history of the Orient, we will complete here the account of what we know about the Kirghiz-Kazaks by glancing at their history, from their origin to the time when they began to appear in Russian chronicles, that is, until the middle of the 16th century.

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For the last hundred years most Russians have believed and written that the first Kazaks sprang from the Tatars, or took form among them, and that the name Kazak arose among them, whence it was extended to all the Kazaks [136] of former times and to those who exist today. However, specialists in Oriental history are firmly refuting this opinion to which one is so accustomed in Russia and which has given rise to so many debates among the scholars there. These specialists affirm that the Kazaks formed an independent and compact nation in the earliest centuries of our era, and some even trace their existence back to a period well before the birth of Christ. It is certain that Firdevsi (or Ferdussi), who lived in 1020, that is, two centuries before the Mongols appeared in the west, spoke in his history of Rurtam of a Kazak people and Kazak khans. His work and the most ancient Persian chronicles upon which he has drawn inform us that the ancient Kazaks, like those of today, made themselves famous by plundering and raiding and that their principal weapon was the

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173 spear. For this reason in Asia the name Kazak began to be ap-
175 plied to all mounted bands armed with spears who practiced the
721 calling of the true Kazaks, that is, who engaged in brigandage
101 and raids upon neighboring lands. Thus the Tatar Kazaks,
whom the Russians believed to be the first Kazaks, were only
imitators, and their name was not Tatar but borrowed from
another people. If this idea is established and irrefutable it
destroys all the explanations and interpretations which have
been made for the word "Kazak."

101 The meanings which have been given it since are based
175 only on the conformity of certain peoples with the true and
primitive Kazaks in way of life and type of arms. But the name,
itself, as a proper name, does not lend itself to any translation
or etymological argument. For this reason, those who have de-
rived this word from koziavka; from koza, "goat" or "goatskin"
(1);

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1. Unpublished work on the Kazaks,
mentioned in Karamzin's history of
Russia, Vol. V.

from Kipchak (2); or from a tongue [137] of land on the Dnieper

2. Remarques sur l'histoire d'A Boulghazi
[Observations on the History of Abulgazi],
Part II, Chapter V.

called Kossa in Russian (1), or from Kazak, meaning Slavic gen-

1. Scherer, Annales de la petite Russie
[Annals of Little Russia, Strasbourg, 1788];
and Gartknokh [Hartknoch, C.J.], Histoire
de la république de Pologne [De republica
Polonica... , 1687].

eral (2), or from Khozare (3); etc., have gone to useless trouble.

2. Synopsis.

3. Sestrenzcevitch / Siestrzeńcewicz /,
Histoire de la Tauride / Brunswick, 1780 /.

[139 cont.]

175 collected many geographical notes on Russia as well as on the neighboring countries, he wrote the following in his memoirs (2):

2. See his Rerum Moscoviti/c/arum Commentarii, Basle, 1571, p. 91.

● [101] Ad Orientem (from the lands of the realm of Kazan /Kazan/) autem aestivalem Tartaros quos Schibauski et Kozatski vocant, conterminos habent /to the desert East, however, they have neighbors whom the Shibautski and Kozatski call Tartars/. He repeats (3)

3. Ibidem.

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771] almost the same thing in another place. Jenkinson, who was in Bukhara in 1558 and 1559, says that the ruler of Tashkent was then at war with the Kazaks, a numerous and cruel people, who had no cities and were Moslems (4). It was no doubt on the basis

4. See Collection of Travels to the North, Vol. IV.

of this remark that the lands of the Kirghiz-Kazaks were previously
175 known on our maps in Europe under the name of the lands of the
101 Tatar Kazaks (5). The Russians had known them at least a century

5. Vitzen /Witsen, Nicolaas/, in his Noord and /en/ Oost Tartary, included a map entitled "Asia ex magna orbis terrae descriptione Gerardi mercatoris disumpta, studio et industria G.M. junioris; edita anno M.D. LXXXVII." On this map he wrote "Kazaki Tartari" south of the Margus River toward the Caspian Sea.

earlier because of their frequent relations with the Nogais. We find the evidences of this first of all in Herberstein's notes on the Kirghiz-Kazaks, cited above, which he collected in Moscow in

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101 the beginning of the 16th century, and in the second place in the documents of the relations with the [140] Nogais preserved in Moscow in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We find in the latter, under the year 1534, that an envoy of Tsar Ivan Groznoi (the Terrible) named Danila Gubin, then among the Nogais, reported the following: "And the Kazaks, sire, are said to be very strong; and it is said, sire, that they waged war against Teshken (Tashkent); and the son of the king of Teshken is said to have fought against them twice, and the Kazaks defeated them." Likewise Semen Maltsov, sent in 1569 by Tsar Ivan Groznoi among the Nogais, who lived between the Volga and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers, spoke of the attack which "the Kazak hordes of Tsar Aknazar, Tsarevitch Shigai, and Tsarevitch Chelim" (1) made upon their ulus. These accounts, which we

1. See Karamzin's history of the Russian empire, Vol. IX, note 245.

include here only because of their antiquity, tell us nothing about the name of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

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439 Four years later, however, Ivan resolved to establish political relations with them, persuaded no doubt by the demand of the Stroganovs who had established commercial relations with the Kazak horde. This circumstance obliged the Tsar to protect them and reach out to them by sending a deputy to the chief of the horde. This mission was entrusted to /the Muscovite/ Tretiak /deputy?/ Chebukov (2). But he was taken prisoner near the Kama

2. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 378.

River in 1573 by the famous-Mametkul, nephew of Kuchum, the khan of Siberia, before he arrived at his destination. With the failure of this first attempt to open relations with the Kirghiz-Kazaks, Ivan put off a second attempt till a more favorable time. On May 30, 1774 /1574/, however, he gave the Stroganovs a letter patent, granting them permission to trade with the

[144 cont.]

131 which flows from the same mountain, falls into the Sarsu /Sary-Su/.

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"And the Sarsu falls into a lake before reaching the Syr, at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlyk, and 70 versts /75 km./ from Karachat (Kara Tag) /Kara-Tau/ mountain, and the length of the Karachat is 250 versts /267 km./, and this mountain is 80 versts /85 km./ from the Syr.

"And at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlik, on the left bank of the Syr, is the town of Sunak (Saganak), opposite Karachat Mountain and between Lake Akbashly, the Sauk River, and Lake Ankul (Akkul). And on the

131 two shores of the Zelenshik and the Kenderlik and Sarsu rivers,
233] and the Kara-Kum sands in this region are all the pasture lands of the Kazak horde, covering 600 versts /640 km./."

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It can be seen from this description that at this time the Kirghiz [i. e. the Kazaks] only occupied the middle of their present territories. The eastern part belonged to the Dzungars and other Mongol groups [races]. The north belonged to various branches of the Siberian Tatars, while the west was occupied by the Nogais and further north, the Bashkirs (2). Later the Kalmuks,

2. In the same book, the Bolshoi Chertezh, page 229, it says: "From the heights of Buzuluk and on the plains as far as the Blue Sea are the pasture lands of the great Nogais." In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow under No. 10, a letter from Yusuf, prince of the Nogais, to Tsar Ivan the Terrible, written at the end of the 16th century, is preserved. Here Yusuf says clearly: "And I wished to make war against the Kazak horde, and now I am nomadizing on the Yelek (Ilek) River, on the other side of the Yaik Ural/."

now known as the Volga Kalmuks, took the place of the Nogais.

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[511] dissensions, came to sell their children in Russian villages, Bukei's
[127] subjects not only remained peaceful but also became rich to the
point that their herds and studs increased almost tenfold in the
course of seven or eight years. It seemed that [293] such an attractive
example for every nomadic people should have inspired
[181] the Kazaks to follow it, but their love for their savage freedom
and their homeland was more powerful than any example.

It is time to return to the history of the Middle Horde, which we interrupted at the moment when Vali, son of Ablai, became khan. Our silence concerning this part of the Kazak people has been due, first, to the uninterrupted continuation of the events which took place in the Little Horde during the last 20 years of the last century, second, to the monotonous calm in the Middle Horde during this period, and third, to the fact that this very calm makes the external relations of the horde with Russia, as well as the events which took place within the horde, unremarkable.

The statement of these reasons no doubt causes every reader to wonder why the Middle Horde enjoyed and still enjoys today more tranquillity than the Little Horde, even though the two hordes are composed of one and the same people. In our opinion two circumstances have produced this difference: the situation of the lands occupied by the two hordes, and the difference in ways, partly arising from this geographical position and partly from other causes. We shall explain ourselves in greater detail.

• [101] The Little Horde has its compatriots for neighbors only to the east. In the south it is often attacked by the Khivans, in the
[127] north it has the Bashkirs, its irreconcilable enemies, and in the west it has suffered much in the past from the Ural Cossacks. Thus, having had to sustain violent attacks from all sides, it has not been able to remain at peace for long and has grown accustomed to disturbances and to raids into neighboring territories. In addition,
[43] the khans are always distinguished for their weakness. The Middle Horde, on the contrary, occupies the lands which have
[101] the Little Horde to the west. To the east it has its compatriots of the Great Horde and the establishments of the Chinese border. In the north is the [294] Siberian line, whose inhabitants are

[294 cont.]

²⁴⁹very peaceful. To the south there is once again the Great Horde, or the subjects of what is now the khanate of Kokand, including the people of Tashkent, Turkestan, etc., who are little accustomed to war and little inclined to make raids upon the Kazak peoples. With these neighbors, the Middle Horde was exposed only to the attacks of the Bashkirs, who bordered it on the side of the fort of Troitsk, and to those of the Buruts in the south. But the extent to which these peoples could do damage was so small compared to the expanse of its lands, that one must admit the advantages of its geographical position over that of the Little Horde and to conclude therefore that it was much less troubled than the latter from the outside.

[721] Having clarified our first thought, we believe it is also [181] very simple to explain the second. For there is no doubt that a people which is less often obliged to defend itself against outside attack and less frequently prompted to wreak vengeance acquires milder habits than a people which is always doing battle with its enemies. We will note, in addition, that the khans and sultans [643] of the Middle Horde always had more power and influence over their subjects than those of the Little Horde. In this connection the long administration of Ablai, first as sultan and later as khan, was particularly useful.

[181] The Kazaks who followed Ablai became accustomed under [643] him to peace and the obedience which one can expect from a half-savage people, and they remained peaceful under his son Vali, although his khan did not have his father's talent for gaining the general respect. On the other hand, however, he made a show of never seeking the protection of Russia, paid no attention to the demands of the authorities of the Siberian borders, refused to surrender the Turkmen who had fled with the Kalmuks from the government of Astrakhan and who were later held by Ablai, and finally he persecuted the elders who were devoted to Russia. In [167] 1789 a large number of people who were considered [295] his [311] subjects crossed over into Russia with Tugum, sultan of the Great Horde, in order to establish themselves permanently there, and they received lands near the fort of Ust-Kamenogorsk for their settlement.

[298 cont.]

578 Kaip's principal descendants are indicated in the genealogical chart which we have made for them, as are the descendants of Abulkhair, as a complement to Tevkelev's charts to which we referred at the appropriate time.

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Part III. Statistical Information on the
Kirghiz-Kazaks

Chapter I. Population

● 101 When one speaks of a little known people, the first questions which seem proper to ask are usually as to what country they inhabit and what their population is.

The answer to the first is found here in the description which we give of the area occupied by the Kazaks, whose borders we also 161 indicate [in untranslated section]. The solution of the second seems impossible to us. If many of the civilized countries of Europe cannot know the exact number of their inhabitants, how can it be attained when it is a matter of half-savage nomads, who have no principle of administration, who are constantly moving from one place to another, and with whom the simple words of counting the people can suffice to cause an uprising?

Nurali, khan of the Little Horde, wished to know the exact number of Kazaks under his authority, and he charged his sons who 574 governed the various tribes of this people with this duty. But a number of obstacles halted them from the first steps. He did not achieve his end and only managed to arouse grumbling and grave suspicions.

166 A large part of the Kazaks who settled permanently in 1801 and 1802, under the orders of Sultan [300] Bukei, in the most favorable locations of the government of Astrakhan, crossed the Ural again in 1820 because the rumor had spread among them that it was wished to make a census of them and settle them in fixed places.

If one adds to this trait of their national character the vast expanse of the steppes occupied by the Kazak hordes and the

[305 cont.]

Chapter III. Principal Camping Sites
of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Although the descent lines and tribes of the Kazaks, who are constantly moving from one place to another, cannot have [306] fixed habitations just for this reason, nor can they possess lands, strictly speaking, still, in order to avoid disputes, each group stays as much as possible in the same camping places, especially during the winter. Only reasons of the greatest importance can make them go against this custom.

Their present camping sites are approximately in the following places:

The Little Horde

The Alimuly descent line always spends the winter on the Syr [Darya] River, the Kuvan, and on the dry bed of the Yany-Darya, as well as in the sands of Kara-Kum, Burzuk /Barsuki/, and at the mouth of the Emba. Only a small part [of this descent line] camps on the Ilek River, the Or, and the Ural, from the fort of Krasnogorsk to that of Verkhne-Ozernaya. Their summer camps are on the Temir, Emba, Sagiz, Uil, Ilek, Khobda, Or, and Irgiz rivers, in the Mugodzhar Hills, and in the sands of Kara-Kum.

The Baiuly tribes are Adai, Cherkes, Tana, Baibakty, Shikhlar, Maskar, Kizil-Kurt, Issen-Temir, part of the Djappas [303] tribe, and most of the Alacha, Tazlar, and Bershch tribes. All nomadize in the territory opposite the lower Ural River line and spend the summer between the Ural and the Emba, in the vicinity of the Karakul lakes and the Kuldagaity, Buldurty, Ulenty, Djusaly, Chungurlau, Ankaty, and Uilu rivers, as far as the Khobda. In winter they camp on the Caspian Sea, at the mouths of the Ural and the Emba, on the gulfs opposite Guryev, and some parts of the Adai tribe camp on Mangyshlak. The rest of the Tazlar, Alacha, and Bershch tribes are on the Syr [Darya], the Kuvan, and in the sands of Kara-Kum. Most of the Yappas camp in summer on the Tobol and the Turgai, opposite Troitsk, and in winter on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan.

[306 cont.]

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101] Moreover, as was said earlier, several parts of all the tribes of the Baiuly descent line (except for the Yapoas tribe) crossed over in 1801 and 1802 [307] into the government of Astrakhan, under the leadership of Sultan Bukei. They camp in the district called Ryn Peski and form the horde there which is called the Bukei Horde.

The Djalgal-Baily tribe, of the descent line of the Seven Tribes, spends the winter in the vicinity of the Irgiz, the Or, the Kumak, and the Sugunduk /Suunduk/ rivers, and the Karacha Mountains. It spends the summer near the Russian border, from the fort of Verkhne-Ozernaya to Verkhne-Uralsk, and extends south as far as the Irgiz.

The winter camps of the Kerder and Tama tribes are on the Ural River, from Orenburg to Uralsk, and their summer camps are on the Donguz, Khobda, Kanlys, and Ilel rivers.

Most of the Tabyn tribe camps near the two preceding tribes. Another part camps on the Tobol, Turgai, Syr [Darya], Kuvan, and Emba rivers.

The rest move with the Middle Horde along the shores of the Issel and Tsu, and the desert known as the Aremetei.

The Kereit tribe spends the winter along the Syr [Darya], and in summer it comes to the Irgiz River, the Karacha Mountains, and Troitsk.

The Tiliev or Tilieu and Ramadan tribes in winter live on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan, near the camps of the Kereits. In summer they go to the Turgai River and the vicinity of Lake Urkach-Kandykli.

The Middle Horde

The Argyn tribe moves about in the vicinity of the Ulug, Boyan-Ola, Ireimen, Kizyl, Kuyucha, and Mukcha mountains, and the districts of Urch-Burlyk, Kylchakty, Uch-Kundan, and Bikhchentei, and the shores of the Turgai, Nura, Tobol, Irtysh, Sary-Su, Ishim, Issel, Ubagan, Ulkoyak, and Ayati rivers, as well as the sands of Kara-Tusun and the environs of the Kizyl, Kurzhan, Tiba, and Bish-Kun lakes.

Most of the Naiman tribe [sic] occupies the Tarbagatai Range, the upper sections of the Irtysh River, and several other

[307 cont.]

101 localities in the direction of the eastern borders of the [308]
 361 Chinese empire. The rest of them occupy the upper parts of the
 221 Ishim, a sector of the shores of the Turgai, Kara-Uziek, Syr
 619 [Darya], Kuvan, Lap-Su, and Kuk-Su rivers, the vicinity of Lake
 Ak, and the Ulug and Kichi mountains, etc.

The Kipchak descent line camps on the shores of the Issel, Turgai, Chakiek, Ubagan, Tobol, Ayat, Muyunli, and Uya rivers, opposite the forts of Troitsk, Stepnoi, and Ust-Uisk, and in the Kara-Kum desert, as well as in the districts of Aman-Karagay, Ebelei, Yedis, and Tiriekly.

The camps of the Uvak-Girei descent line are on the Ubagan, Ishim, Uya, Taguzak, Irtysh, Issel, Sary-Su, and Tsui or Chai rivers, as well as in the sands of Ich-Kungur, the vicinity of Lake Kechubay-Charkar, and opposite the part of the line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkho-Uralsk, as well as opposite the forts of Zverinogolovskoye and Presnogorkovskoye.

The Great Horde

The tribes of which we have spoken camp on the Chui or Tsui, Tala-Su, Ili, Kuk-Su, Karatal, Chirchik, Syr [Darya], and Sara-Su rivers, in the vicinity of the lakes of Kara, Ala, Al-Su, and Anamas and the cities of Kuldja, Kashgar, Kukan /Kokand/, Tashkent, and Turkestan, and in the neighborhood of the Kara-Tau, Tarbagatai, and Chingiz-Tsazan [Chingis-Tau] mountains, as well as in the district called the Seven Rivers /Semirechie/. They are also in other regions near the Chinese border, in the old lands of the Dzungars. Some tribes live in the towns of Tashkent and Turkestan and in the near-by villages.

One part of the Kunkrat descent line moves about in these same areas, while another part camps with the Naimans.

[309] Chapter IV. Way of Life.

233 The Kazak way of life is a faithful image of that of the
 181 patriarchs. The sight of a whole nation of shepherds, who live only, so to speak, for their flocks, the settlements or auls which

221 [312 cont.]

1484 have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because

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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II,
page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
244 possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342 places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

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1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i. e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

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[315 cont.]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

[579] their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical relations of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by [627] one individual against another, the participation of their families [628] in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, [578] and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes require hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling [166] places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

● 101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742:

116 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always [578] had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the [361] Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads [181] us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and [636] the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form [177] permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

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5: Levchine--193 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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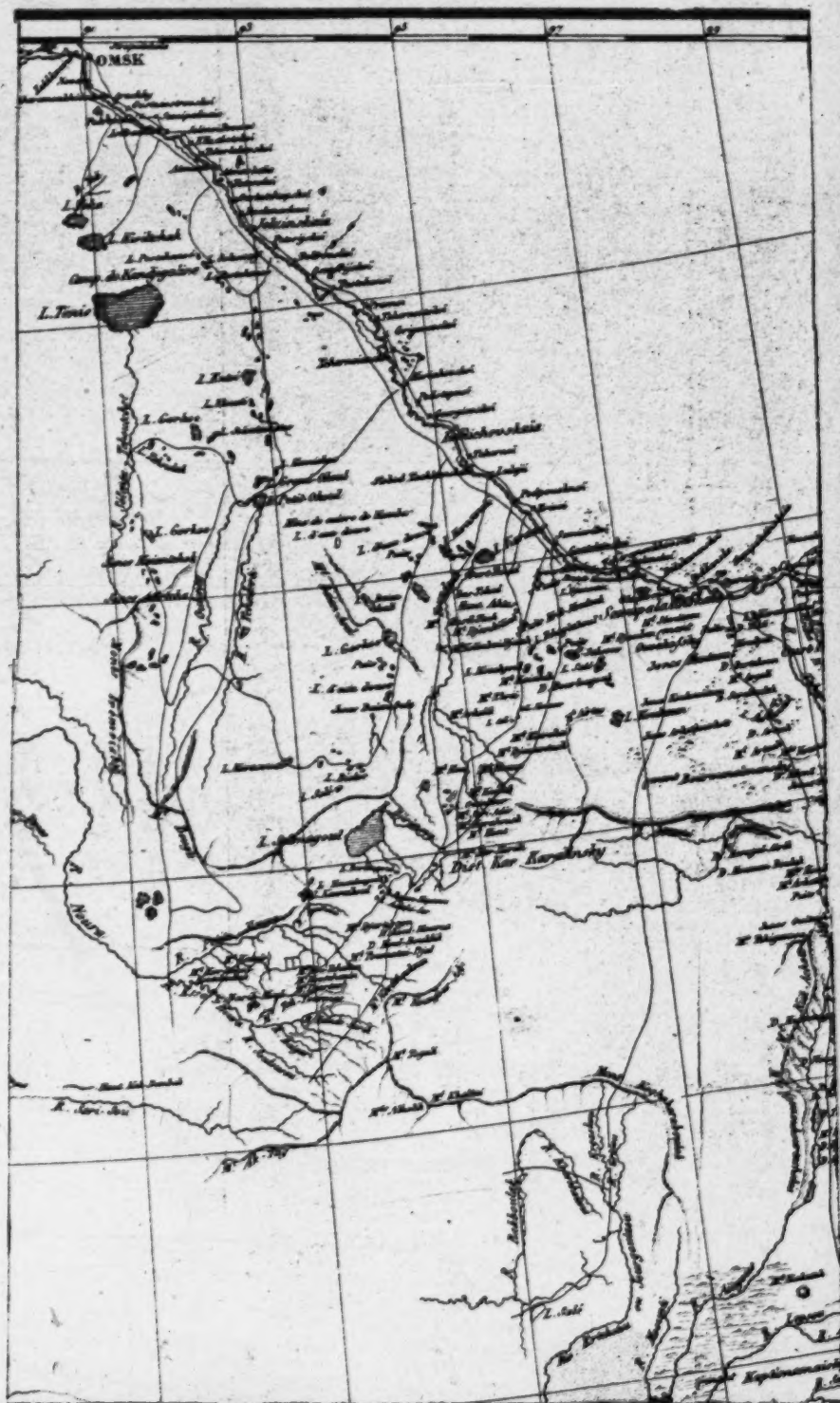
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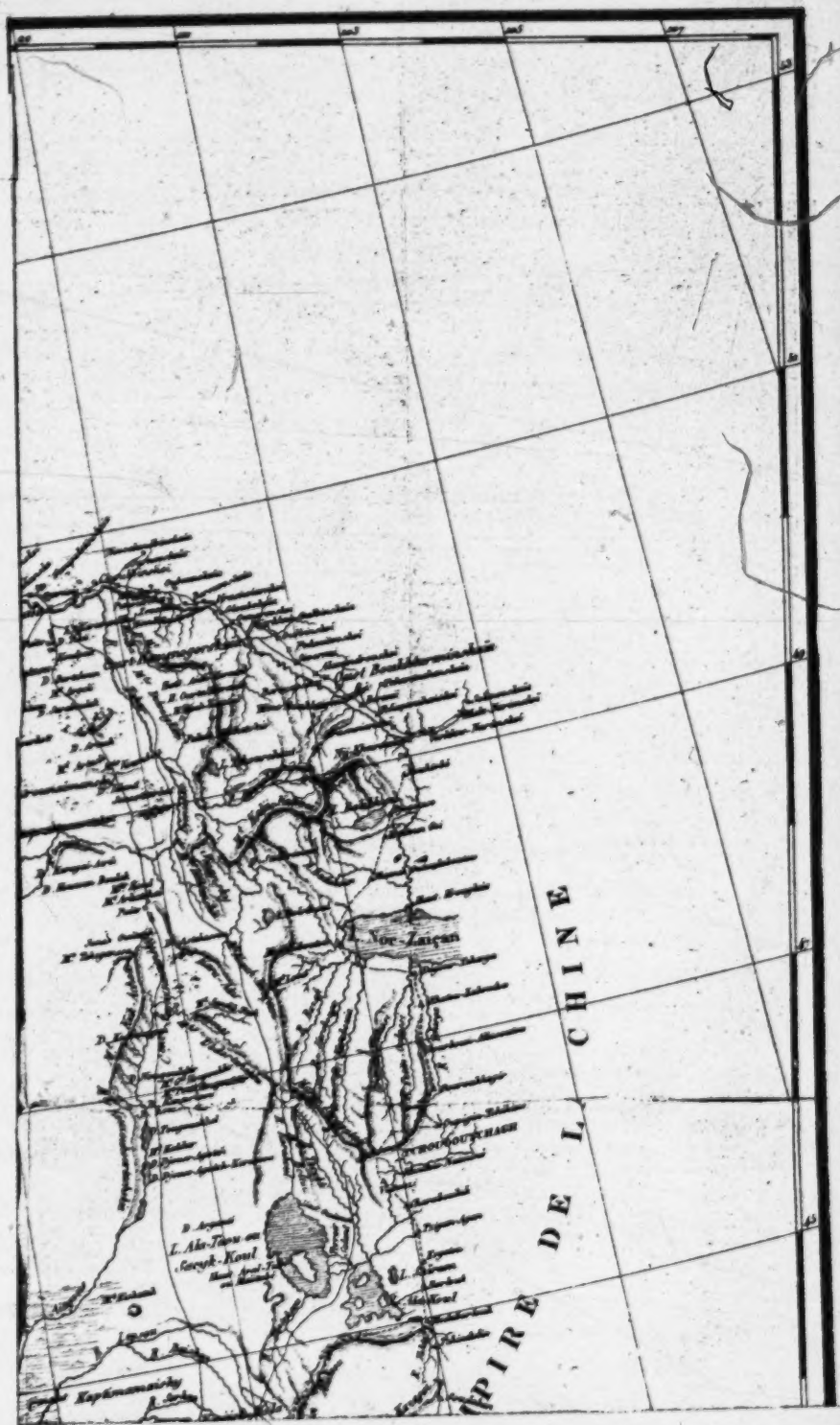
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5: Levchine--196 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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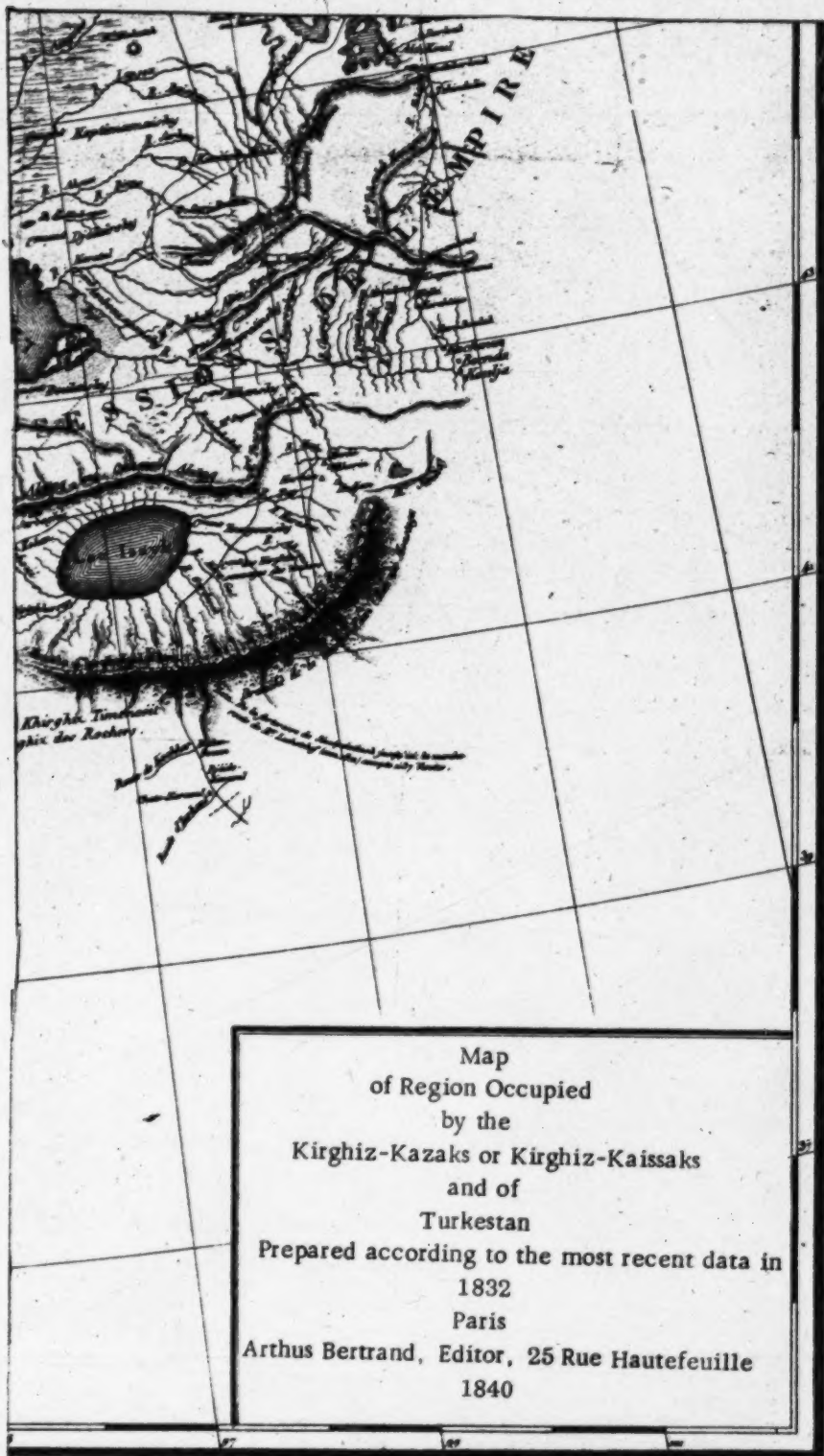


5: Levchine--199 G-4, 5 (ca.1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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completely disappeared from the scene of history after 119 A. D. In 177 A. D. the tribes living in the Kirghiz krai were forced westward by Huns entering from the Chinese dominions. The Huns moved across the southern steppes to the west and completely destroyed the Yuechi tribe, related to the Usun', who were in their path. In the 5th century A. D. the Huns who remained in the region under discussion (most of them had already gone into the southern Russian and Hungarian steppes) fell under the domination of the Mongols moving in from the southeast. Most of them were soon scattered and destroyed by the nearest Mongol hordes from the Uigur tribe, descending from the Altai (in the 7th century). During this period (5th to 7th centuries), after the powerful and conquering Hunnian wave, there came an almost unbroken movement of various Turkic tribes from the east, especially from the Altai. At this time the Pecheneg came to the southern steppes, but were soon forced out by the Turks into the modern Ural oblast and beyond to the Volga. In the 9th century they were already well-known to the Russian princes as a wild steppe (nomadic) people /illustration appears here/ and a troublesome neighbor. In the 11th century another Turkic tribe, the Polovtsi, appeared along the same path. They pressed the Pecheneg and the Turks and also moved westward. They, like the others, had a nomadic economy, and when they reached the Russian boundaries they also engaged in raids on the nearest Russian towns and villages.

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New Turkic tribes appeared on the historical scene at approximately the same time, known by the general name of Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak). In view of the fact that this people played and is now playing a great role in the history of our region, we will give a more detailed description here both of their history and of their way of life and their mores (in the following chapters).

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Our outline concerns a brief history of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ living on the borders of our krai, i. e., the four steppe oblasts: Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Turgai, and Ural. According to the

162 /141 cont. / According to the
 (101) data of the governor's reports for the 1890's. /142/ there are
 1,875,000 of them, of both sexes, constituting 58% of all the
 Kirghiz-Kazak, including those living in China, in the Bukhara
 and Khiva dominions (1). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Semipalatinsk and

1. The population of the steppe oblasts calls itself "Kazak." Many fantastic explanations exist for this word. The colonel Kolchi-Kadyr was ill, dying of thirst, and left to the mercy of fate, and he prayed to heaven to send him a speedy death. But the heavens took pity upon him, and one of the good spirits, a peri, descended in the form of a white goose kaz-ak. The goose flew away for water, gave the sufferer a drink, and remained to live with him. The offspring of this marriage received the name Kazak. The word "Kirgiz" which has come into use also signifying "Kazak" was originally completely unknown to the latter, and they first began to hear the word primarily from Russians. In the older horde of the Kaisak there is a "Kyrgyz" clan. This is one of the most ancient Turkic tribes. The Kyrgyz were known of old for their attacks on cities, villages, and caravans, and their name became hated by their neighbors. The later "Kazak" began to be called Kirghiz as a consequence of their raids on their neighbors. This word has come into general use, gradually forcing out the real name used by the people--
Kazak.

101 The Kirghiz/Kazak/ of the Semipalatinsk and Akmolinsk oblasts consist chiefly of certain Turkic tribes: the Kerei /or Kerey/, Naiman /or Nayman/, Alchin, /or Kipchak/, Alchin, and Argyn.

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195 Alchin, and Argyn. According to the scanty historical evidence about them, these Turkic tribes have long been wandering in the various corners of the continent of Asia. The Kerei lived intermittently with the Mongols on the Kerulen and Onon rivers in the homeland of Genghis Khan and fell prey to his first conquests. In the 12th century the Naiman were wandering southwest of the Kerei between the Orkhon and Irtysh rivers. The Kypchak and the Alchin wandered in the northwestern half of the present steppe oblasts. The Mongols of Genghis Khan, going from eastern Siberia into Central Asia, and then the hordes of Batu, also departing from eastern Siberia, beginning at the upper course of the Irtysh river (where Batu designated the point of assembly) and moving thence through the present Steppe krai to the mouth of the Volga, produced an intermingling of all the nomadic tribes they encountered on their way. Because of the common way of life of the Mongols and the Turkic tribes, the latter mixed with the former. After this mixture, produced by the hordes of Genghis Khan and Batu, it appeared that the Naiman and Argyn, about whom there had been no earlier information, entered the ulus /subtribe/ of Chagatay /Dzhagatai/, the second son of Genghis Khan, and in the 14th century were wandering from the Imil' River southwest to Kara-Tal and west to the Nura River. The Kerei appeared on the Black Irtysh, while the Kypchak and Alchin entered the ulus of Djuchi /Dzhuchi/, the elder son of Genghis Khan, and constituted the nucleus of the Golden or Kypchak Horde of Batu. After the period of Batu the historical fate of the tribes mentioned was closely linked with the uluses of Chagatay and Djuchi. Although nominally under the power of the Genghisides, the nomadic tribes retained their tribal way of life and their nomadism. A biy acted as judge in civil and criminal cases, a man who stood out among the people for his eloquence, his knowledge of the juridical folk customs, his impartiality, and the justice of his decisions. Clashes between clans over pasture land took place very often

/142 cont. /

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195 on the steppe because of the particular mobility which is inevitable in a livestock-herding economy. The struggle between the clans gave rise to resourceful and daring leaders, who bore the title of batyr. Frequently the biy and the batyr were combined in one and the same person. The skillful magistrate and wise judge in peacetime was transformed into a scout when he departed for war in defense of the clan. /143/ into a leader of troops, a soldier, and, after the war, into a diplomat. The nomads with their superb horsemen and unusual mobility represented an immense military power in their time, in the 13th and 14th centuries. Every clan, governed by its biy and commanded by its batyr, entered alliances and broke off from them freely, acknowledging over themselves only that superior power which corresponded to the interests of the clan or its leader. The customary struggle for power and appanages among the Genghisides was settled with the constant interference of the most powerful Turkic tribes, which played an active role in the breaking up of the uluses of Chagatay and Djuchi.

In the middle of the 15th century, Turkic tribes which later entered the steppe oblasts under the name of Kirghiz /Kazak/ entered the historical scene in the form of an independent political power on the ruins of those uluses mentioned above. /Illustration appears here. /

Taking advantage of the weakness of power of the Uzbek khan Abulkhair (1), the Djuchide-sultans Girei /or Girey/ and

1. From the time of their khan Uzbek, who died in 1342, the Golden Horde began to bear his name.

Djany-Bek /Dzhany-Bek/ broke off from him with their adherents and found refuge in the western part of his ulus on the river Chu, thanks to the hatred for Abulkhair of the Chagatayde khan of Mogolistan, Isa-Bug. Here they founded an alliance of nomads which later received the name of "Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak)."

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101 After the death of Abulkhair in the third quarter of the
195 15th century, the customary struggle for power among the
Genghisides grew stronger in his ulus. The nomads, who had
always felt the animosity of their rulers, found it impossible
to remain in the Uzbek Horde. Most of the Kypchak joined
619 the alliance of the Kirghiz-Kazak, increasing its number to
195 200,000. Under Kasym-khan (who died in the first quarter
643 of the 16th century), the son of Djanybek, the alliance of the
648 Kirghiz-Kazak, which added to itself /144/ the nomadic



A Kirghiz /Kazak/ cemetery of the Adoev /or Aday/ clan
in Kara-Chungul.

195 peoples of the eastern half of the Chagatay ulus, numbered over
643 a million persons. Kasym-khan, who united all the Kirghiz
648 /Kazak/ people, had enormous military power at his disposal.
619 Fortunately for his subjects, this last of the mighty khans was not
numbered among the usual conquerors of Asia, and he acquired the
love of his people by a policy of peace. When averting a proposal
to make war, Kasym-khan said that "the Kazak, as a nomadic
people, should think about winter camps and not about war." Kasym-
195 kahn enjoyed unusual popularity among the people for his love of
643 peace. After the death of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance

175 /144 cont. / After the death
 643 of Kasym-khan, the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance
 631 broke up into smaller units. Each of its sultans tried to seize power, and the dissensions among them led to the ruin of the Kirghiz-Kazak alliance. Later, 200 years after the death of Kasym-khan, the unifier of the Kirghiz-Kazak, his people again appeared on the scene of history in the form of three political unions, known by the names of Elder, Middle, and Younger Hordes. (1).

• [101]

1. We consider it necessary to note that that the current names of the hordes as Great and Little characterize the hordes wholly incorrectly and also render the sense of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ words unfaithfully. Uly means elder, ancient, and not great in the sense of quantity (especially as this horde is smaller in number than the others). Kshi does not mean little (in sense of quantity), but younger.

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 [101] In the first quarter of the 18th century "there arose the designations of: the southeastern Kazak clans of the Dulat and Kangly as the Elder (uly) Horde, being the most ancient Turkic tribes occupying the lands of the Kazak alliance; the Kypchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Keret as the Middle (orta) Horde, being the later comers; and the tribe of the Alchin and the clans separated from the tribes of the horde as the Younger (kshi) Horde" (Aristov). At this time all three hordes, who had been pushed from their southeastern lands by the Kalmyk, were wandering in the basins of the Ishim, Nura, and Sary-Su rivers. In 1723 the Dzungarian ruler, Galdan-Tsyren, conquered the clans of the Elder and Middle Hordes. The invasion by the Dzungarians and the Kalmyk forced the Kirghiz /Kazak/ hordes to move west to the Aral and Caspian seas and north to the upper courses of the Ishim, Ural and Tobol rivers. The Younger and Middle

H.T. /199 cont. /

563 new homeland in the same way as they lived before. A
 361 new village can always be distinguished at once from an old
 one on which local influences have already had an effect.

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 [628] They settle with Great Russians only in extreme cases, pre-
 ferring separate settlements.

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 563 German colonists (Mennonites, Baptists, and others)
 241 and also Estonians and Latvians appeared in the Akmolinsk
 [795] oblast only in the 1890's. Some of them live on rented
 plots near Omsk and some in the Akmolinsk uyezd on allotted

land (the settlements of Preobrazhenskoye, Romanovskoye,
 Kankrinskoye /Kankrynka/), like the peasants. They are
 engaged in agriculture. They do not have close relations
 with the Russian population. In the village of Romanovskoye
 [628] the relations were so hostile that there were clashes of arms,
 and the administration consequently completely separated the
 Russians on a new sector. As farmers they equal the peasants

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 [346] in their skill in tilling the ground. They have set themselves
 up in their sectors even better than the peasants, and they
 have their own schools and houses of prayer. The general
 [342] appearance of the German village is similar to that of the
 Little Russians; the buildings that are common, for example,

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 [291] in the Livonian guberniya do not exist here. The clothing
 [493] (hats, jackets), however, and the carriages (carts drawn by
 two animals, cabriolets) are still retained.

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 563 Poles, Jews, Bukhariotes, and Sarta live only in the
 361 towns. The latter engage in trade and other commercial
 463 undertakings. Bashkir and Kalmyk sometimes live in villages
 in the Ural and Turgai oblasts, where they farm.

• K
 101 We shall now turn to the examination of the principal
 people of the region -- Kirghiz-Kazak. This people is first
 among all the Turkic peoples on the continent of Asia, both
 in number and in the expanse of territory they occupy (and
 second in the world, after the Osmanli Turks). For the
 ethnographer the Kirghiz-Kazak are of great interest since
 they have retained until now their nomadic way of life
 and their clan custom, similar to the primitive custom.
 Ethnically they are also the most interesting of all the
 Asiatic Turks, since they include representatives of all the
 most important and oldest Turkic tribes.

/199 cont. /

000 most important and oldest Turkic tribes. Along with the
 142 typical features of the Turks, one can also observe in certain
 144 tribes among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ a great deal of crossbreed-
 ing with the ancient inhabitants of the region (non-Turks) and
 with the Mongols.

101 First we shall examine the ethnic composition of the
 619 Kirghiz-Kazak constituting the Middle and Little (Younger)
 614 Hordes in our region.

/200/ The great mass belongs to the Middle Horde.
 Within it there are several tribes, of which the most important
 (counting from the east) are the Kirei /or Kirey, Kerei, Kerey/,
 Naiman, Argyn, and Kipchak. They occupy the Semipalatinsk
 and Akmolinsk oblasts and part of the Semirechye, Syr-Darya,
 and Turgai oblasts. The Kirei are in the region of the Black
 Irtysh river. They are made up of many clans (the Sarybas,
 Djadyk /Dzhadyk/, Chireuchi, Djanastaban /Dzhastaban/,
 Djantykey /Dzhantykei/, Iteli, Karakas, Mulku, Chubar-
 Aigy /or Chubar-Aygyr/, Itengem, Chimoin, Merkiz,
 Kursaty, and others). The origin of the Kirei, like that of
 other Turkic tribes, has not been definitely established.
 There is no doubt that they stem from a mixture of Turkic
 peoples with the ancient inhabitants of the region (Usun?).
 The Naiman wander along the Tarbagatai near Lake Balkhash
 and Ulu-Tau. Their clans include the Bura-Naiman, Semiz-
 Naiman, Ak-Naiman, Sary-Djumart /Sary-Dzhumart/,
 Kokdjarly /Kokdzharly/, Bagonal, Kozhembet, Murun, and
 others. In the opinion of several ethnologists (Aristov), the
 Naiman are composed of the ancient Naiman clans. The
 Argyn tribe has been formed from an alliance of many clans:
 the Basentein, Atagai /Atagay/, Kandjigly /Kandzhigly/,
 Tobukly, Chakchan, Altai, Karpyk, Kalkaman, Aidobyl'
 /or Aydobyl' / (Suyunotyky), Kozgan, Tuki, and others, and a
 special tribe of the Kara-Kisiak /or Kara-Kisyak/. They
 wander along the middle course of the Irtysh, on the Ishim,
 the upper course of the Tobol River, and along the Ural
 River. The alliance of clans existed before the appearance

/200 cont. /

101 of the Genghisides in the region. The Kipchak tribe includes
 619 the Tanabuga, Karabalyk, Turaigyr /or Turaygyr/, Uzun',
 614 Kundelen, Bultuk, Kōkbörōn, Tuyuchka, Kytapak, and other
 clans. These clans live within the Turgai oblast and in part
 in the Orenburg guberniya. At one time the Kipchak consti-
 tuted a large and powerful tribe, but from the 12th century a
 large number of those in the west split off and became part
 of the Kazan, Volga and Crimean Tatars, the Bashkir, and
 the Nogai, while some went to the southeast and constituted
 the main body of the Uzbeks of Fergana, Khiva, and the
 Zeravshan region. Also belonging to the Middle Horde is the
 small tribe of the Baydjigit /or Baidzhigit/ and the Uvan-
 Girei /or Uvan-Girey/ tribe, remainders of former alliances,
 who live in the Zaisan oblast.

The Little Horde was formed from the Alchin tribe,
 which included the Korasakal, Durtkara /or Dyurtkara,
 Djutkara/, Chikli, Kizia /or Kizya/, Karakisian /or
 Karakisyany/, Chumekei /or Chumekey/ clans, and two
 alliances: the Baiuly /or Bayuly/ and the Djityru /or
 Dzhityru/. The former was formed from the Adai /or Aday/,
 Djaynas /Dzhainas/, Alacha, Baibakty /Baybakty/, Maskar,
 Berch, Tazlar, Isentemir, Cherkes, Taka, Kizyl-Kurt,
 Sheikhlar /Sheykhlar/, Altyn, and Isyk clans. The second
 was made up of the Tabyk, Tama, Kerderi, Djagalbayly
 /Dzhagalbayly/, Kireiz, Tleu, and Ramodan clans. These
 clans wander within the Ural oblast, and in part in the
 Turgai and Syr-Darya oblasts and the Orenburg and
 Astrakhan guberniyas. In the opinion of ethnologists, the
 basic Alchin tribe was a mixture of Turks with ancient
 Dinlin and Finno-Ugric tribes. In general the entire Little
 (Younger) Horde constitutes a more colorful ethnic group
 than the Middle or the Elder Hordes.

The Bukey /Bukeev/ or Inner Horde split off from the
 Little Horde in 1801 beyond the Ural River (within the
 present Astrakhan guberniya) after the Torgout fled from there.
 This horde is made up of almost the same clans as the Little
 Horde.

/200 cont. /

101 Thus in the Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak) people as a whole
619 one can distinguish the following main and fundamental
142 Turkic tribes: the Kangly and the Dulat (the river Chu) in the
144 Great (Elder) Horde; the Kipchak, Argyn, Naiman, and
Kirei in the Middle Horde, and the Alchin in the Little Horde.

/201/ The physical type of these tribes can be con-
sidered characteristic of the Turks of our region, but it would
be impossible to bring all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes in the
region together under this type. It is evident from the clans
and tribes listed above (among whom some are descended
from Mongols or the Usun' and other ancient peoples) what a
complex and colorful conglomeration the Kirghiz-Kazak are,
and consequently it is unthinkable to speak of them as a whole
in the ethnological and physical anthropological senses. The
unity here is more political, based on the relatedness of
language, customs, and beliefs, and is involuntarily created
by the steppe -- that arena of life of all the nomadic peoples.
The steppe has not only united all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes,
but has also had a leveling influence, giving all the varied
tribes a more or less uniform character. /Illustration appears
here. /

128 In the description below of the physical type of the
141 Kirghiz-Kazak, the statistics given for the specific tribes
simply cannot be generalized for all the Kirghiz-Kazak in
the region.

141 The stature of the native Turks is considered to be
higher than average. The figures for the individual nationali-
ties are as follows (from Kharuzin). For the Kirghiz /Kazak/
of the Bukey Horde it is 1,629 millimeters, and for the
Little Horde 1,669 millimeters. For the Kirghiz /Kazak/
of the Middle Horde it is 1,647 millimeters, within which the
clan of the Murun has a height of 1,611 millimeters, the
Naiman 1,626 millimeters, the Baydjigit 1,643 millimeters,
and the Kirei 1,685 millimeters. Thus, along with heights
above average (1,650-1,700 mm.) there are tribes with
heights below average (1,600-1,650 mm.). The average
height of the Kirghiz-Kazak is deduced to be 1,646.5
millimeters. The head measurement of the Kirghiz /Kazak/

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerability of a people is accessible to direct methods of research can be assessed. [101] [199] [181]

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control. [648] [581] [161] [167]

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets. [602]

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs. [668] [771]

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive. [159]

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information. [129]

INTRODUCTION'

Kazakhstan, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, extends from the Caspian Sea to the Sino-Soviet frontier of Sinkiang, including within its borders an environment ranging from arid deserts to fertile mountain valleys. It covers an area of more than one million square miles—about four times that of Texas. It is the second largest unit in the Soviet Union, immediately following the Russian republic.

Size is not the only impressive feature of Kazakhstan. Budgetwise the republic ranks third among the 16 republics of the USSR, after Russia and Ukraine, and ahead of several considerably more populous administrative units. Its importance for Soviet production was enhanced by the industrial developments of World War II. The mining and industrial concentrations of Karaganda and of the eastern part of Kazakhstan lie about midway between the western boundaries of the Soviet satellite empire and the Siberian shores of the Pacific. Postwar planning clearly reflects the Soviet estimate of the potentialities of the area's natural resources in the effort to create in Central Asia a "freedom-loving peoples' arsenal for peace."

The Soviet Central Asian basin is separated from the non-Soviet world by high mountain chains and deserts. The Turkic peoples of the USSR, who number about 15 million and thus form the largest non-Slavic minority in the Soviet Union, have lived in and traveled about this area for centuries. The Kazakhs and the other Turkic groups share many similarities in language and in culture. They also experience in common a conflict between their traditional way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Central Communist regime, a conflict as acute as that experienced by any of the other minority peoples.

The present study of the Kazakh way of life was undertaken in an endeavor to determine the nature and source of these conflicts, and to examine the problems created thereby for Moscow. In addition, the report sets forth information gathered concerning the communication patterns and facilities of the republic insofar as these are relevant to the possible needs of psychological warfare.

This section summarizes those aspects of the deep-seated differences between the Soviet and native Kazakh cultures which can most

¹Part I was written by Thomas Gladwin, Human Resources Research Office, and Lawrence Krader, Bureau of Social Sciences Research.

Chapter 1

THE SETTING: GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY¹

The steppes of Asia form a region in which extremes abound. The steppes themselves are a tremendous sweep of climatically and geographically continuous terrain, broken only by the upthrust of mountain chains in the center—the Altai, the Tian-Shan, and the Pamirs. This mountain complex, one of the highest in the world, divides the eastern steppe from the western. The eastern steppe, which lies between Manchuria and the mountain ranges, comprises western Manchuria, both Inner and Outer Mongolia, northeastern Tibet, and most of Sinkiang. In terms of elevation it is "high steppe," lying mostly between a mile and two miles' altitude (1,500 to 3,000 meters). The western steppe, stretching from the Caspian in the west to the Altai-Pamir chain in the east, is "low steppe," lying for great stretches at or below sea level. Whereas the eastern steppe is populated mostly by Mongols, the western is inhabited predominantly by Turkic peoples.

The Kazakhs take their place among the Turkic peoples of the western or low steppe. They are by tradition (i.e., past occupation and present orientation and preference) a nation of herders. Although today not all of them live the life of pastoral nomadism, the Kazakhs still constitute the single largest traditional herding group in the world.

GEOGRAPHY OF KAZAKHSTAN

The Soviet republic that is named for the Kazakhs, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic or Kazakhstan, occupies the central and northern parts of the region formerly known as Turkestan (including Russian and Western Turkestan) or Central Asia (see Figure 1). It includes a large portion of the low steppe and covers an area of more than a million square miles (2,744,300 sq. km.).

The western boundary of Kazakhstan is formed by the Caspian Sea and the marshy lowlands which stretch along the lower Volga between

¹The non-Russian sources utilized in this study are listed in the annotated bibliography at the end of this report. References to works in this list are designated by the parenthetical inclusion of the bibliography number of the work. Other references are to Russian-language sources; a selected bibliography of such sources is available upon request from the Human Resources Research Office. The methodology used in the study is discussed in Appendix A.

pockets of various ethnic groups scattered about the republic and even localized in sections within cities. The most important reasons for this uneven ethnic distribution are, first, the extensive utilization of Slavs in mining and other industries requiring skilled labor, and second, the establishment of political and administrative divisions with little regard for ethnic relationships.

The distribution of mining towns (coal, oil, lead, copper, zinc, manganese, tin, wolframite, and chromite) creates small groups of Russians and Ukrainians among the native Turks throughout Central Asia. Some of these Slavic centers antedate the revolution; some have been created by forced labor, by deportations, and by resettlement policies during World War II. During the 1940's, miners and factory workers were transported from Moscow, Baku, and the Don basin to Kazakhstan. (During the same period, the lands of the Slavic Cossacks along the Ural River were confiscated and the settlements dispersed; this was the only important countertrend to Slavic immigration.) Russians, Ukrainians, and other Slavic groups predominate in the black-earth farming in the north, in truck farming generally, in the extractive industries, and in urban commercial and light industries.

Turkic Uzbeks predominate near the southern border, in the cotton-growing regions contiguous to their own republic. As a result, the Kazakhs have been hemmed in by Slavic black-earth farmers in the north, Uzbek irrigation farmers in the south, and Slavic laborers in the urban and mining centers developing in the Caspian region (oil), around Karaganda and Chimkent (coal), and around Balkhash and in the Altai Mountains (minerals). The native Kazakhs have been gradually squeezed into the arid center of their republic, in an arc to the west, north, and east of the Aral Sea.

There is no free intermingling of nationalities on the land. Peoples tend to stay within regions determined by their economic specialization and traditional occupation, a tendency already described for the principal populations, the Kazakhs, Russians, and Uzbeks. The smaller populations of the republic present the same pattern. The rural Tadzhiks in Kazakhstan are gathered into one district in the region of Dzhambul, in the south. The Uigurs and Dzungars live only in the eastern part of the Ili River valley. Turkmen are found only in the west and south.

The rural segregation of nationalities presumably is true of the cities also. Although no clear proof exists on the matter, available data suggest that ghettos have formed in the cities, where groups live in their own separate centers of communication and social interaction. The Slavic and Turkic elements keep themselves apart. This conclusion is supported by the extremely low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples.

The establishment by the Soviets of political and administrative boundaries has led to a number of incongruities. During the 1920's, Russian leaders officially advocated following ethnic boundaries, but this policy was enforced only half-heartedly. By the end of the twenties, the Soviets had decided to reconstruct the political divisions of Central Asia which had existed prior to the Revolution (although the previous policy of following ethnic boundaries was never fully retracted). Thus

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THUS

it happened that the Karakalpaks were first assigned to Kazakhstan, because by origin and by language they are similar to the Kazakhs; later they were transferred to the Uzbek republic, because the boundary between the Uzbek and Kazakh republics had been re-established along the old line which had separated Tsarist Russia from the home of the Karakalpaks.

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The relationship of the Kazakh and Kirgiz peoples offers an even more confusing example of the complex problems which the Soviets have encountered in their attempts to combine into political units various ethnic and economic groups. The Kazakh republic at one time bore the name Kirgiz, and included approximately what is at present the Kazakh and Kirgiz republics. In the 19th century, the pastoral nomads who occupied the steppe between the Caspian Sea and the Tian-Shan Mountains were divided into two groups, the nomads of the low steppe and the nomads of the mountain pastures. Early 19th century explorers called the first group the Kirgiz-Kazakh or the Kirgiz-Kaisak; the mountain nomads were known as the Kara-Kirgiz (Black Kirgiz), or alternatively, the Dikokamenny Kirgiz (Wild-Mountain Kirgiz), or Birus. In that period, persons who today would be called Kazakh, such as the native historian and ethnographer Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, identified themselves as Kirgiz, ignoring the distinction between Kirgiz-Kazakh and Kara-Kirgiz.

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Toward the end of the 19th century, experts in matters concerning the Central Asian Turks pointed out that the two social groupings could be distinguished from one another in a number of ways. They differed not only in habitat but also in social organization and social class structure. The Kara-Kirgiz (the modern Kirgiz) had little if any concept of a nobility differentiated from the commoners by purity of descent. Their leaders, called manap, were for the most part local persons who had risen by right of wealth, strong following, and personal qualities to positions of authority in their respective communities. There was little sign of a general organization of these manaps. The Kazakhs on the other hand had a nobility sharply differentiated by right of birth from the commoners, with a strong feeling of interrelationship, mutual support, and hierarchy within the aristocracy. The Kirgiz-Kazakhs, moreover, were divided into three hordes, whereas the Kara-Kirgiz fell outside this structure and had another horde entirely their own.

The Soviet regime in its infancy sought to override the difference between the Kazakh-Kirgiz and the Kara-Kirgiz; linguistically there was little to distinguish between them, and the same may be said of dress, mode of living, and religion. The two groups therefore were combined into one republic. The difficulties in administering as one unit peoples accustomed to different systems of social and political authority, however much else they had in common, must have persuaded the Soviet regime to abandon the early aim of forming political divisions of maximum size. Moreover, Soviet plans for the economic exploitation of the Kazakh and the Kirgiz republics were different.

¹In general, the early Soviet attitude was against particularisms; Transcaucasia, for example, was first established as a republic, then broken up into three republics.

Preliminary geological surveys had indicated the riches of Kazakhstan in nonferrous metals and liquid and solid fuels, as well as in pastoral products. The Kirgiz republic offered an entirely different economic perspective. Similarly, from the standpoint of ethnic composition, Kazakhstan had a far greater and more diversified minority pattern, the most important of which was the Russian and Ukrainian. These and similar considerations must have impelled the Soviets to separate the two peoples. With the separation of the two political units, the native populations came to be known by the respective names of the republics, the people in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs and those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz.

At the time of the 1926 census so few Kazakhs were enumerated in Kirgizia and so few Kirgiz in Kazakhstan—a few thousand in either case—that it seems obvious what must have happened. The division into two republics had taken place a few months before the census. An arbitrary decision must have been made to list all Kirgiz-Kazakhs and Kara-Kirgiz in Kazakhstan as Kazakhs, and all those in Kirgizia as Kirgiz. Those who fell outside this division amounted to two-tenths of one per cent of the total population.

As suggested above, the Soviets have had some idea of determining political boundaries according to economic factors. The valley of the Syr-Darya is split between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. By consideration of ethnic composition (the area is heavily Uzbek), and for historical and geographical reasons, the entire area should be in Uzbekistan. The triangle between the cities of Tashkent, Dzhambul, and Turkestan is a cotton-growing region; two-thirds of it is in Kazakhstan, despite the fact that cotton is an Uzbek specialty. On the other hand, the coal mining districts of Chimkent and Lenger, also within this triangle, are outside the pattern set down for Uzbekistan. Apparently Kazakhstan is regarded as a center of mining and extractive industries; hence the cotton area was broken up.

As a result of these various factors, many Uzbeks have been deposited in Kazakhstan, and in 1939 more than 300,000 Kazakhs, or 10 per cent of their total number, were living on Uzbek soil. These are Kazakhs who live immediately over the border—not scattered pockets which could be assigned only with difficulty to Kazakh administration. In 1939, because of these and related losses in the north, one-sixth of all Kazakhs in the USSR lived outside Kazakhstan, with the result that they became a minority in their own republic. The process has continued, and today the Kazakhs constitute little more than a third of the population of their native republic. Soon the name Kazakhstan will be an anachronism.

This situation is only in part due to a policy of dividing in order to rule; it is also intended to inundate the Kazakhs with ethnically more reliable elements in order to rule the better.

REGIONAL HISTORY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SETTING

Central Asia has experienced many waves of invasion over the three thousand years of its history. Early invaders were Scythians, ancestors

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The farming which the Kazakhs now employ was not the typical Central Asiatic Turkic farming, with intensive soil exploitation by artificial irrigation; it was the farming brought to them from Eastern Europe by the Russians and the Tatars (Turks of European Russia). The crops, chiefly grains, and the implements were European.¹

The Soviets have sought to settle the native populations, and have devised grandiose schemes to transform the steppe desert, such as the Bet-Pak-Dala, into fertile paradises. They have failed to settle the Kazakhs and Kirgis, and to increase the area under cultivation, despite the perspectives originally held out in the 1930's.² They have failed to turn the deserts into ploughlands, despite their plans. The plan to transform the Bet-Pak-Dala has been abandoned, at least temporarily, and the region has been permitted to return to the herding economy.³ One factor in these reversals is the economic orientation of the Kazakhs, to whom agriculture is a lowly pursuit.

Such then is the subsistence pattern which the Kazakhs brought with them into the Soviet period. This period begins not with the year 1917 but more accurately in 1928; the intervening decade was an era of transition, to some extent of *laissez faire*, in which the Kazakhs were left to their own devices. The transitional period came to an abrupt end with the beginning of forced collectivization.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

The labor force of Kazakhstan is divided into three broad categories, agriculture, herding, and industry.

In agriculture, the grain crops are raised by all nationalities of the republic. Russians and Ukrainians in the north and northeast grow cereals along rivers and lakes within the black-earth area of agriculture; rice is grown by Uzbeks in the south, and by Uigurs and Dungsans close to the Chinese border in the east. Kazakhs raise grains for human consumption as well as for livestock feed in the central areas, sandwiched in between the Slavs to the north and the Uzbeks to the south. The Russians and Ukrainians raise a certain amount of livestock feed for their draft horses and milk cows. The potato and vegetable farming is done largely by Slavs in the vicinities of the larger cities, such as Karaganda, Alma-Ata, and Balkhash-Kounradskiy. Cotton and other nonsubsistence crops are raised largely by Uzbeks who live in the southern districts, and by Uigurs in the Ili River valley.

Pastoralism is the virtual monopoly of Kazakhs. That they were herders in the past has already been established; more significant for the present is the fact that the areas of highest pastoral productivity in Kazakhstan are also the areas in which the Kazakhs represent the highest proportion of the population. The region of Ouryev, for example, is one of the three leading pastoral regions of the republic: its population

¹Koshin, 1906, passim.

²Sakharov, 1934.

³Brodin, 1946.

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CHAPTER V

KAZAKH-KIRGIZIntroduction

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133 The Kazakh-Kirgis are Turkic-speaking pastoralists whose domain stretches from the Caspian Sea in the west to the Chinese border in the east; they number among the largest of the Turkic groups in terms of population. Their neighbors to the west for three centuries have been the Kalmuks of the Volga, while to the east dwell other Turkic groups, certain western Mongols, and the Mongols of Outer Mongolia. In the south of their territory lie great salt inland seas: the Caspian and Aral, and Lake Balkhash in the east. Stretching between these seas with their surrounding salt marshes are the vast stretches of desert and semi-desert, bearing characteristic names: the Kara-Kum or Black Sands, the Bet-Pak-Dala or Hungry Steppe. Much more favorable for human and animal existence is life along the rivers which run into the seas: the Ural and Emba which empty into the Caspian; the Syr-Darya (Jaxartes of the ancients) which flows into the Aral; the Ili which flows into Balkhash. In addition, there are the mountain streams in the east, and a number of other streams with interior drainage

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101/123 whose headwaters are in the eastern Urals.¹ Much of this territory is now and has been for some time given over to agriculture; where the topography is neither too arid, nor wet enough to support agriculture, the Kazakh domain continues to support a nomadic pastoral economy.

101 The name Kazakh is derivative of the Turkic word for bandit, freebooter, presumably referring to the reputation enjoyed by these steppe nomads among their neighbors.² The second name applied to them, Kirgis, derives from the Turkic words for forty, kyrk, and daughter, kyz. The ethnonym Kazakh appears late in Central Asian history, after the Mongol period--i.e., after the 14th century. On the other hand, the term Kirgis appears early; in the region of the upper Yenisei and along the Orkhon during the 6th-8th centuries, a Turkic people bearing this name is reported in the contemporary indigenous records, the runic inscriptions of the Orkhon and Yenisei Turks.³ Much confusion arose during the 19th century regarding the question of exactly which people which name referred to. We know that there was no direct ancestral connection between the 8th

¹Berg, 111-124.

²Radlov, *Opyt Slovaria*, s.v., and W. Barthold, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v.

³Cf. Radloff, *Altürkische Inschriften der Mongolei*; V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, 1896; Thomsen, *Turcica*, 1916.

-563-

101 century Kirgis and those who later bore that name; the Kirgis were absorbed into the empire of Chingis Khan during the 12th-14th centuries, and while some of the later Turks of this name-group were and are undoubtedly descendants of the earlier Kirgis, nevertheless the historical continuity was disrupted by the Mongol conquests and redistribution of the peoples of Central Asia. The following is the ethnonymic picture as it is generally followed at present: the Kazakh-Kirgis are the basic inhabitants of the region formerly known as Kazakhstan, now known as the Kazakh SSR. The Kirgis are generally referred to for the purposes of ethnic differentiation as the Kara-Kirgis, or Black Kirgis. They are centered for the most part in what was at one time called Kirgistan, now more or less coincident with the Kirgis SSR.

The basic difficulty which gave rise to the underlying problem of identification has been in part resolved by the absorption of these peoples into the Russian empire, and the assignment of territorial boundaries, seats of government, and official names, by administrative decrees. Behind this solution imposed from without, however, lies a veritable ethnological problem: disregarding the occurrence of the ethnonym Kirgis in the 1st millennium A.D., there remains the question whether those who bear that name in the post-Chingiside era, i.e., during the

⁴Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 406 ff. Aristov, Zametki, 350 ff. and 394 ff.

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- 104 past six centuries, are of a common origin, or not. Radlov, Grigor'ev, Veliandinov-Zernov, Ibragimov, and P. Semenov are all of the opinion that the Kirgis, both⁵ Kazakh-Kirgis and Kara-Kirgis, are of mixed origin. On the other hand, Kharusin has maintained that they are one people who have ramified into many descent groups,⁶ and Aristov shares Kharusin's view.⁷ It should be added that such is the belief of the Kirgis themselves.

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The culture history of Asia is by its nature conducive to raising problems of this sort.¹ The central

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feature of Kazakh-Kirgis social structure is the lineage, the genealogy, the clan and tribal origin, traced in the agnatic line. These pastoralists have a highly developed

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historical sense, and strong traditions in the matter of their origins and descent. On the other hand, for considerable periods of their history they have had their own script and records, and surrounding them have been

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other highly literate and record-keeping cultures. Thus we have two separate historical streams, the objective history which tells us that a Kirgis group formed part of Chinggis Khan's empire, that the hordes of the Kazakhs were united under Khan Tyavka in 1698, and so forth; on the other hand we have folk history--the mythical history

⁵Radlov, Otrastsy, III; Kharusin, K Voprosu, 89.

⁶Kharusin, op. cit., 89.

⁷Aristov, Zametki, 350 ff; Aristov, Opyt Vyznaniia, 391 ff.

1 [cf. ANI/Mongolia, Cat. 116, pp. 262-264--Analyst]

[Orkhon Turks]

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a conqueror, in Gobineau's fine distinction. The concern of the Chinese caused them to record much of what

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we know today of these peoples. The Turks themselves in moving westward gave up their indigenous letters because they now entered the world of Islam, and encountered a new literary and historical tradition. The period of the first Islamic contact was followed by successive waves of empire-building, the Chinese and the Timuride. Data for kinship and social analysis during this period are impossible to extract from the record because the fine shades of difference in social structure between the Turks and the Mongols are not reflected in the documents of the period or even later; our sieve is too coarse. We may get a few hints, such as those from a Turkic dictionary of the period,³⁰ but these are insufficient for our purposes.

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The Kazakh-KirgizKa.
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The earliest historical records of the Kazakhs appear in the 15th century, prior to which date they are said by Howorth to have formed part of the Uzbek domain.³²

³⁰Carl Brockelmann, *Maḥmūd al-Kāshānī*.

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³¹For the purpose of brevity, and to avoid confusion, I shall speak of these people as the Kazakhs, and where the Kirgiz other than the Kazakhs are referred to, they will be called the Kara-Kirgiz.

³²Howorth, II, part 2, p. 6.

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619 In the inter-
178 vening decades,¹ the Russians had set up a system of ad-
241 ministrative divisions which reorganized to some extent
the pattern of life of the Kazakhs. Moreover, at this
time there was some increase in agriculture among them.
As of the turn of the century there was an acceleration
in the development of farming among them, and a tendency
to turn from a nomadic to a settled life. 62

Clan and Lineage of the Great Horde in the 19th Century

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The Great Horde was situated farthest from European
Russia, occupying the steppe between the Ala-Tau Moun-

tains and the Syr-Darya River, to the south of Lake
Balkash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan
as well.

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62 Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 376. "Some of the Kirgis
have taken up agriculture, raising grain in their win-
ter quarters on artificially irrigated land. This ten-
dency has undergone in recent times a greater and greater
development, effecting the transformation of the Kazakhs
into a settled life, turning them from nomadic pastoral-
ists into settled farmers." This was written in 1913,
and relates to the preceding decades. In the 1920's the
Kazakhs still retained considerable pastoralism, but had
transferred to a major extent to a mixed pastoral-
agricultural economy or had gone over entirely to agri-
culture. Cf. Sakharov; Kharuzin, Bukreev Orda, Column 47.
The process of transformation as indicated by the above
sources is only an incomplete one. Kazakhs for centuries
had been making a transition from pastoralism to agri-
culture, but in doing so had ceased to be Kazakhs. They
joined instead agricultural Turkic communities, such as
the Uzbek. The very process of change from herding to
farming at the end of the 19th century had itself changed
through the rise of indigenous agriculture undertaken by
the Kazakhs without their giving up their identity as
such in making the transition. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien,
I, 222-230.

7 [i.e. after the Russian conquest -- Analyst]

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672 Moreover, the family acted as a personality in paying
681 or receiving the wergeld: it was liable to penalty or
573 indemnity as a unit. To this conception we add in cor-
roboration the family as a personality in the marriage
practices of kalyu, levirate and the marriage agreement
itself.

The Middle Horde

101 The Middle Horde, Kazakh orta yds, literally Middle
161 Hundred, nomadised on the steppe north of Lake Balkhash
as far as the upper course of the Irtysh River in south-
ern Siberia. From the viewpoint of European Russia, it
was less distantly removed than the Great Horde. In ter-
ritorial expanse the Middle Horde was smaller than the
Great Horde, but larger than the combined Little and
Inner Hordes. Numerically it was the largest of all the
hordes considered separately in the 19th century; it was
estimated in the 1830's at 165,000 families, approxi-
mately, and at about the same number at the end of the
century. Thus from Levshin's day in the 1830's to Rad-
lov's in the 1890's, it showed no absolute change at all,
whether of increase or decrease, while compared with the
other hordes it had suffered a relative decrease. 166

600 Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no

166 Levchine, 300; von Hellwald, 20; von Lebedour,
II, 480; Schuyler, I, 34; Lansdell, I, 303-304.

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[Middle Horde]

172.69
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A number of salient features of Kazakh family life in the Middle Horde are brought to light in this case: the practice of allotment to all sons but the youngest during the lifetime of the father; the idea that they thus gave up all further rights in the estate of the father; the principle of ultimogeniture; the role of the bi in settling disputes; the break-up of family unity through a quarrel between or among brothers. The measure of the degree of acculturation is likewise made precise in this matter. We note a number of new features: the appeal to Russian practices in inheritance; appeal to the Russian courts to decide the matter; the resentment by the Kazakh community of the Russian appeal; the final decisive role of the Russian administration--which, it is important to note, found for the plaintiff in accordance with the Russian court's conception of what the Kazakh custom was, and rejecting the elder brothers' notion of what the Russian custom in inheritance was. The flight to the town to escape the resentment of the community made by the youngest brother indicates nothing about acculturation: it could have been a new feature brought in by Russian contact, it could have been an old feature, because towns have existed in the vicinity of the steppe for many millenia.

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The Middle Horde differed from the Great Horde in two respects: it exhibits no trace of any dual organization, a feature of the large-scale social structure of

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101 the Great Horde; and it was further along in the process
177 of acculturation than the Great Horde. A Middle Horde
Kasakh could adopt a "Russian" point of view and have
the public opinion of his community support him in it
a full generation anterior to even a remote envisage-
ment of such a situation in the Great Horde. However,
no significant difference in small-scale social struc-
ture, whether in the corporate entities or in the kin-
ship relationships, can be detected.

000 Note: Appended to this chapter is material gathered
on the Kasakhs of the Middle Horde during the period of
the First World War and the 1920's. It is separated from
the body of the Kasakh materials since it represents an
era removed from the preceding one by a war and a revo-
lution.

The Little Horde: Clan and Lineage

101 The Little Horde, Kasakh kyr yds, literally Little
Hundred, occupied the steppe between the Middle Horde
and European Russia, stretching from the area north of
the Aral Sea to the Ural River. The steppe between the
Ural River and the Volga was in turn occupied by an off-
shoot of the Little Horde, the Bukai, or Inner Horde
63/ during the 19th century. In the structure of the Little
616 Horde, certain marks of a dual organization are to be
619 observed: it consisted of two major divisions, the Alchyn
and the Djätti-uri. The Djätti-uri in turn were sub-

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[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

613
592 tained a full oral tradition of the origins and history of the group, and consciousness of membership. The entire group, the descendants of Adai, formed a major or maximal patrilineage, and was further subdivided into two exogamic minimal or sub-lineages. These Kazakhs of the Little Horde occupied a peninsula of the eastern shore of the Caspian, and were somewhat isolated from the rest of the Kazakh world by stretches of true desert lying immediately to the east and south; the very isolation tended to stabilize the internal group relations over time, making for the exogamic practices founded on the maximal lineage and minimal lineage structures here described. We may note in passing that something approaching a moiety situation is implied by the report,² but we do not know whether the entire Adai line was endogamous, taking wives from among themselves alone.

613 The lineage exogamy which has been posited theoretically may be applied to the minimal or sub-lineage equally. The division of clans into major maximal lineages, and these further into minimal or sub-lineages is dependent on locally operative conditions. The Inner or Bukel Horde composed still further variations on this theme.

The lineage founded by Adai exemplifies another structural principle of steppe society, that of formation by fission, by splitting away. Adai, the lineage ancestor, had once been a member of another lineage; but

²[cf. cat. 116, ANI Mongolia, pp. 466-467 -- Analyst]

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577 of deceased brother's children. Again, an affianced girl who has been orphaned may be raised by her father-in-law, who has an interest in her upbringing in view of the kalyu already paid for her.²²⁴ This is to be distinguished from adoption per se because, while it does mean the taking up of children not one's own, the female never becomes fully incorporated into her husband's family.

The Inner or Bukel Horde

101 The Horde named for Khan Bukel was the last such
177 formation among the Kazakh hordes. It was formed in the year 1800 when some 1500 Kazakhs of the Little Horde crossed the New Cossack lines to occupy the steppe between the Ural River and the left bank of the Volga, a steppe left empty for a generation by the flight of the Kalmuks to China and occupied only by wild horses and saiga antelope.²²⁵ The leader of the new horde, Khan Bukel, was encouraged to do so by the Russians, who were seeking to pacify the steppe, and the move was willingly undertaken by the Khan partly for financial considerations, and partly through fear of the internecine wars and raids on the steppe beyond the Ural River.²²⁶

²²⁴Plotnikov, 124.

²²⁵Ivanin, 5-7.

²²⁶Ibid., 7-9.

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6) of the estates, the clan and lineage formation is a ver-
545 tical cleavage. A gdsk might be identical with a byr
top in any given instance, but the principle upon which
it was based was different. The horizontal cleavage was
derived from the superposition of one layer of society
upon another, and was a means of building the social hier-
archy. The vertical cleavage could fit the system of a
social hierarchy or a polysegmentary system without a
supra-clan hierarchy equally well; an example of the
latter alternative, a polysegmentary clan-lineage forma-
tion without aristocratic and commoner estates is found
in the Kara-Kirgis social structure.

Appendix: Kazakh of the Altai

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177 Two expeditions to the Nisaman division of the Kazakhs
of the Middle Horde were undertaken by a number of Turkic
specialists in the 1920's. The localities they concen-
trated on were in the extreme northeast corner of Kazakh-
stan, hence difficult of access, in rugged country and
were presumably chosen by the ethnographers Bukeikhan,
Baronov, Margulanov, and Rudenko, and the linguist Samoilov-
vich because here the degree of acculturation (such was
not their term) would be lowest of any part of the Kazakh
world. The account of the Altai Kazakhs has been separ-
ated from the rest of the data on the Kazakhs and put
into this appendix. A word is needed in answer to (1)
why the following data are incorporated at all, and

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- 101 (2) why they are separated from the text proper. As
127 to why the Soviet era data are added, it may be said
177 at once that they are marginally Soviet: they were gathered in the 1920's, and from an outlying province where the impact of Soviet acculturation had barely begun; and again, fully recognising the acculturated life of these people, certain factors have remained constant, "recognisable," from the past, and the data regarding them supplement descriptions of the previous era, fill in old gaps. The resultant picture has historical significance, it tells what happened later; it has comparative significance, it permits the confrontation of Kazakh data with other data, such as the Kalmuk. But the post-revolutionary report is separated from the pre-revolutionary data because of the great changes in the life of the component peoples of the Russian empire.

Clan and Lineage

- 167 The Kazakhs of the Naiman division are sometimes
101 called a tribe. Adequately detailed genealogical data
175 afford a considerable amount of insight into the struc-
619 ture of the Kazakh clan and lineage. We are faced with a distinction which has been encountered several times in the course of the present study: the distinction between "objective" history and history as mythopoeia. As to the first, Margulanov tells us that these Naiman, in branching off (ramifying, as Firth has put it) from

-525-

167 the Naiman corpus, migrated from Turkestan to the Altai
● 101 region in the period 1750-1770. At this time they at-
175 tacked the Dzungarian or Western Mongols and occupied
619 their present territory. ²⁵⁷ Moving somewhat southward,
to the valley of the Chu River, a portion of these Naiman
have been moving back and forth across the Russo-Chinese
border; they may have been nomadizing in the valley of the
Chu River before 1870, but between about 1870 and 1900 they
were in Chinese Turkestan; by 1900 they migrated north and
west to the pasture lands where ²⁵⁸ they were reported in
1927 by Samoilovich.

The above data are objective in the sense that they may conceivably be verified; possibly the Dzungarian traditions will report a war over the pasturages in the western portions of the Altai Mountains; possibly Chinese administrative records will show a movement across the borders during the last third of the 19th century; or Russian documents will support this account put together from Margulanov, Samoilovich, Shvetsov and Tynyshpaev. This little historical excursus may be verified, or it may be corrected as to this or that detail; but in any case we indeed have a record which is in every way the stuff that historians deal with. Above all, it is subject to verification, its veracity and credibility may be demonstrated or disproved.

²⁵⁷ Margulanov, 330.

²⁵⁸ Samoilovich, 303.

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[Altai Kazakhs]

The nomads

621 in question¹ occupied the steppes northeast of Zaisan Nur,
 556 around the uppermost course of the Cherny (Black) Irtysh,
 • [101] as semi-sedentary farmer-herders in the 1920's; the
 433 poorest Kazakhs dwelled in the winter camps the year
 round, and supported themselves by caring for their own
 farming plots and those of the wealthier Kazakhs and by
 hunting. The wealthier Kazakhs, in contrast, maintained
 a mixed economy, based mainly on herding, but with some
 farming, aided by the poorer Kazakhs. They were for the
 most part Haiman, with some Kereit elements among them. 268

[17.12] Hence the following account of aul nomadism is to be
 understood as an advanced state of acculturation, and
 connected only to the pastoralism of moderate and wealthy
 Kazakhs. 2

621 The aul in its several variations was entirely a
 kin unit among these Kazakhs. The Kazakh aul elsewhere,
 even at an earlier period, no longer comprised a homo-
 geneous kin group. This was not so among the northeast-
 ernmost Kazakhs. The auls of the latter fall into two
 categories: the fully nomadic auls, such as those of
 the Kazakhs in the Kosh-Agach aimak (Oirat Autonomous
 Oblast'); 269 and auls which are entirely sedentary, such
 as those of the poor Kazakhs mentioned above, members

268 Ibid., 1-3, 62.

269 Samoilovich, 312.

1 [For further background on the Altai Kazakhs, cf. vol. II, ANI Mongolia,
 p. 523 ff. -- A-20/54]

2 [For further data, cf. vol. II, ANI Mongolia, pp. 527-544 --
 A-20/54]

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[Altai Kazakhs]

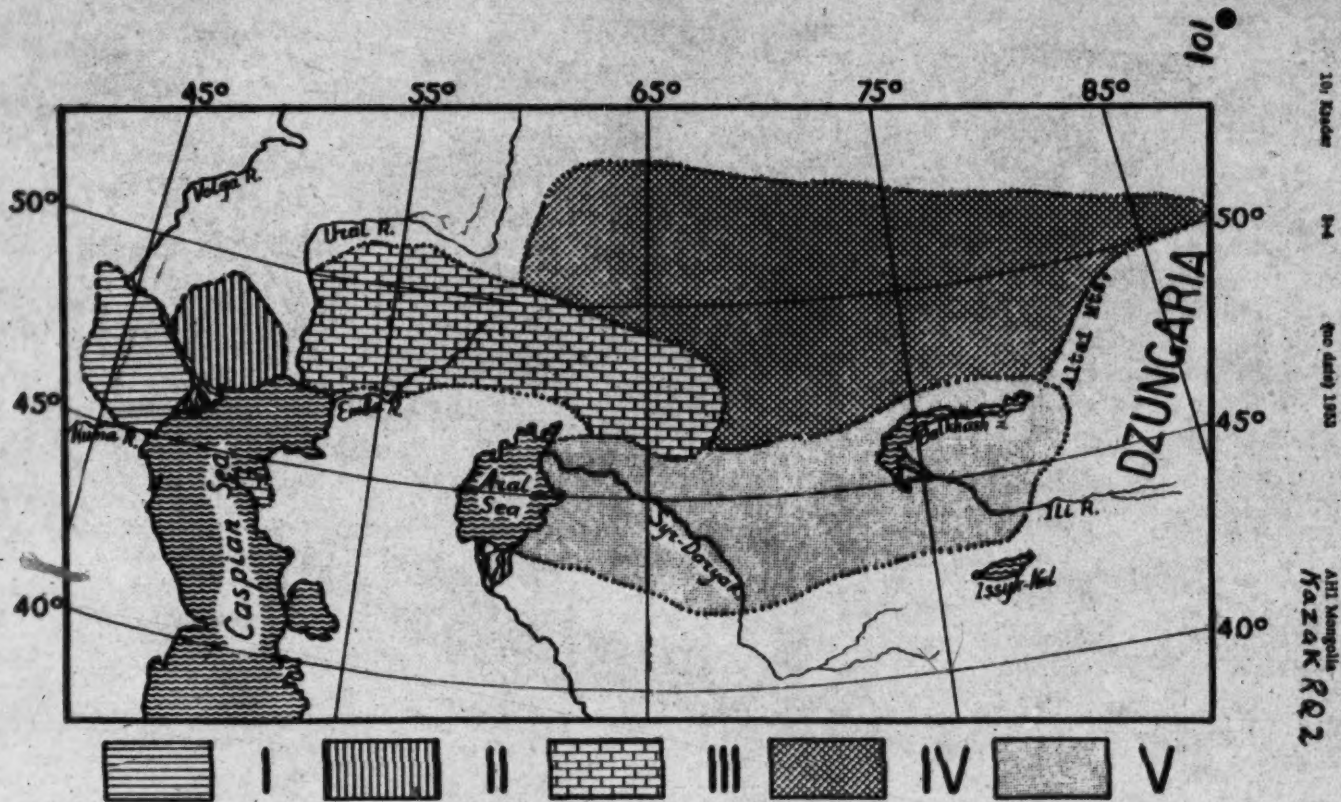
64 of the Kereit. In the Kosh-Agaoh aimak there were approximately 100 auls of the Middle Horde Kazakhs who were exclusively herders, with a total of 505 tents, thus averaging five tents per aul. The range was between three and eight tents per aul. The total number of people was 2408 (1123 males, and 1175 females), an average of 4.8 people per tent and 24 per aul.²⁷⁰ Each aul moved as an individual unit, each was composed of close kin which in effect was a large extended family. However, their larger social units were of mixed composition,²⁷¹ and not of more or less close agnatic kin.

201 In the vicinity of the Black Irtysh, the bulk of the Kazakhs were of the Naiman division of the Middle Horde; they comprised most of the herding population, they were the wealthy stratum, able to support herding. Their poorer neighbors, possibly more recent arrivals, were the Kazakhs of the Kereit division of the Middle Horde, more specifically, members of the Ashmaily clan of the Kereit. They lived primarily by farming and hunting, were very poor, had no horses, only a few cattle, sheep and camels, and lived a sedentary life. In contrast to the tiny mobile auls of the pastoral Kazakhs,²⁷² these sedentary Ashmaily auls numbered up to 60 tents.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 311.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 312.

²⁷² Rudenko, op. cit., 61-62.



Map III. Maximum Distribution of the Kalamk and Kasakh-Kirgis in the 19th Century.
See next page for Legend.

Legend, Map III.

- 101 I. The Dalmuk Steppe. Prior to 1800 the Dalmuk Steppe also included the area under (II).
- II. Steppe of the Inner or Dalmuk Herds of the Khamkh-Virgin, occupied after 1800.
- III. Steppe of the Little Herds.
- IV. Steppe of the Middle Herds. This area was only spottily occupied by the Middle Herds in its northeastern section.
- V. Steppe of the Great Herds.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COSSACK COMMUNITIES 53

C.
433 is still at a primitive and wasteful stage. Then comes the cultivation of wine and tobacco plantations. The Asiatic Cossacks are well known as traders.

000 CONCLUSION.—Having traced the origin of these curious communities, followed their evolution, and seen something of their present state, I should now like to lay before you two momentous problems, one connected with the Kaizak, the other with the Cossacks, the solution of which is of vital importance to Eastern Europe and to Asia.

K.
101 The first problem arises out of the existence, the character, and the circumstances of the Turkic Kaizak (i.e., the Turkic Cossacks). They are a body who, despite their nomadic condition, have an importance not to be lightly estimated, for any cause, either within Russia or without, which has their support will be very considerably strengthened thereby. Numbering from four to five million, by no means thoroughly subjugated by Mongol or by Russian power, this half-nomadic race of the Kaizak, whom, as we saw, the Russians erroneously call Kirghia, represents a considerable fighting force in its own land, since its clan organization still remains strong. Lying between Europe and Asia, its country extends from the shore of the Caspian to Pamir, and is on the route to the fabulously rich mines of Altai and Sayan and the other wealth of Siberia.

K.
181 The Kaizak may be regarded as an advance-guard to the Turks of Bokhara, Khiva, and other countries of Turkestan, but their sympathies are detached, for although they have much in common with these Turks racially and linguistically, their want of strong feeling for Mahometanism sets them apart. This is hardly surprising, since Islam was only brought to them two centuries ago, and it has never been in them a driving cultural force. On the other hand, they have always been in opposition to the Central Russian Government, an opposition of which the rising of 1916 and its subsequent massacres is a recent proof.* Their relation to the Russian Cossacks has been that of an insubordinate native tribe to a conquering Russian army, and yet Russian Cossacks and Turkic Kaizak have more in common with each other than either have with the Central Russian Government. Wherever Russian Cossacks have settled among Turkic Kaizak, it is the latter who have kept the upper hand, the Russian Cossacks adopting their mode of life and social outlook. In disregarding their essential kinship, and fostering dissension between the Russian and the Turkic Cossacks, the old Russian Government made a grave mistake. Friendly feeling and friendly terms have grown up and been established between the Turkic Kaizak and the progressive element among the Siberian colonists, which is a consideration worth noticing. There are two alternatives before the Kaizak, one of which

* For a fuller account on the Turkic Kaizak, see M. A. Czaplicka's "Turks of Central Asia," now in preparation (Oxford University Press).

177 the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonization. An autonomous "territory of the *Kazak Kirghiz*" or Kirghizistan has now been constituted with *Fishpek* as capital (the term "*Kazak*" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated).

101 Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "*Kirgiz*" meant particularly the *Kazak*; they are sometimes called also "*Kirgiz-Kaisak*" (*Kaisak*, corrupted from *Karak*, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the *Kazak* from the *Ozbeg*, cf. the articles *ABU 'L-KHAIR* and *KAZAK*. The whole of the *Kazak* people was for long under the rule of one *Khān* who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; *Khān Kāsim* (d. 924 = 1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the *Ozbegs* in the xvth century, the *Kazak* still had a strong nomad kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of *Khān Tawakkul*, who, during the last years of the reign of *Khān 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar* [q. v.], was able to make a successful incursion into *Mā warā al-Nahr* and even later still held the town of *Tāshkent*. In the xvith century the power of the *Khāns* only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time *Tāshkent* and *Farghāna* were usually in the possession of the *Kazak*, sometimes under nominal recognition of the suzerainty of the *Khāns* of the *Ozbegs*. At this time must have taken place the division of the *Kazak* into three "*Hordes*" (called by the *Kazak* themselves *qūrs* "hundred"); the great horde (*ula qūr*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kishi qūr*) the most westerly part of the so-called "*Kirgiz steppes*" and between the two the central horde (*oria qūr*). Towards the end of the xvith century this division was already an accomplished fact. *Khān Tyawka*, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of *Turkistan* and in 1698 one from the *Kalmucks*), still ruled all three *Hordes* and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three *Hordes* to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of *Sairām*, *Tāshkent* and *Turkistan* were conquered by the *Kalmucks*. For a short period after this the suzerainty of the *Khān* of the Little Horde was recognised by all the *Kazak* and the agreement doing this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white horse but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, *Abu 'L-Khair* negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the xvith century; but it was not till the xixth century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the *Kirgiz steppes* on the *Sir Daryā*, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. The eastern part of the steppes was administered from *Siberia* and the western from *Orenburg*; regulations for the government of the *Siberian Kazak* were published in 1822 and again in 1863. Even after the abolition of the *Khān's* authority, the descendants of *Cingis Khān* or "*Sultāns*" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the *Kazak* called "*white bones*", *ak süyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last

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